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METHODS FROM AREAL LINGUISTICS FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE BALTIC STATES – SEEKING FOR SIGNIFICANT FACTORS OF THE IDENTITY

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This paper is not devoted to questions of the areal linguistics and language contacts in the Baltic Area, but to the question «What is Baltic Area?» – as it can be investigated by applying the linguistics in the field of study of the Baltic identity.

The first question is whatever can be called «Baltic» and «Nordic»? Where are the boundaries between Baltic cultures and Scandinavian ones? The Baltic States formulate a geopolitical unit, even nowadays, when this territory becomes again a buffer zone between the Russian imperial interests and the Western political and cultural alliances? This buffer zone was, has been and will be the borderline between different powers, as it was the territory of the rivalries between the Teutonic Order and the East Slavic Principalities, then between Sweden and Peter the Great, later between Hitler and Stalin, and nowadays between Putin and the NATO. Baltic countries are forming a geopolitical unit in a consequence of the location of them, but not of the much unified «Balticness» if something like that exists. What is «The Baltic», what does it mean, if one may speak about Baltic people, Baltic mentality, Baltic culture, Baltic literature, Baltic habits, Baltic way of life? Can we speak about these Baltic phenomena and if so, to what extent?



It would not be correct to speak about in the linguistic aspect, also from the historical point of view, to speak about «Baltic something». As we can see on the left map, the Indo-European Baltic tribes inhabited partly on the same territory where the present Indoeuropean Baltic

peoples live, that is, Lithuania and Latvia, and, another and large part of them inhabited territories in contemporary Belorussia and Poland. No Baltic, that is, no Indo-European tribes lived to the north of the contemporary Latvia. Therefore, the border between Finno-Ugric and Baltic people was and has been significant. — On the other hand, the contemporary Latvia formulated in a result of amalgamation of different peoples and cultures. Let's see the right map, depicting the Latvian and Estonian territories in the Middle Age. Very significant, the later Kurland and



later Livland were already different, but the later Kurland was already stable. As ethnogenesis of the Latvians was a result of amalgamation of the indo-european Baltic tribes and the Finno-Ugric substrate, mainly the Liv people, who gave the name of the later Livonia, the Latvian land as a cultural unit is a result of mélange of different regions with their historical and cultural traditions. Therefore, no stable boundary between the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European regions in the Baltic lands, as the mentality, traditions, costumes, folk heritage and literature, music, painting after the middle age, during the last three-four centuries, up to nowadays, show the border between the Nordic Estonian land and the south, more Central European Lithuanian lands, on the other hand, some phenomena are common in Latvia and Estonia, some other phenomena are specific for Lithuanian and Latvian lands; therefore, there are no exact boundaries, although it is quite clear there is NO unified Baltic region without significant divergences, too.

The same question may be raised on Scandinavian lands. As we can see on the left map, Finland may be included into Scandinavian cultural unit and may be excluded, too. There are serious arguments for excluding Finnish culture and people from Scandinavians, and there are arguments for including Finnish culture into the Nordic Cultural Area. We do not deal with it as we are focusing on the Baltic Area. — Let's see the right map, and pay attention to the differences between South and North Estonia. Being descendants of different provinces, it is reflected up to nowadays in the Estonian cultural life, there are North-Estonians on the former territory of Estland, and South Estonians on the former Northern part of territory of Livland. For example, the Estonian literary language began to be evolved on the basis of the South-Estonian, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet, the codified literary Estonian was based on the North Estonian and up to nowadays the North Estonian is the official language in the everyday life, in the press, schools, media and hospitals or theatres. Though the South Estonian remains to live and we can witness its renaissance in the recent years. Ain Kaalep (born in 1926 and still alive) is a famous poet and writer, also literary translator living nearby to Tartu, wrote his works in the official literary language, that is, in the North Estonian. He translated from various languages in different poetic forms, writing in the official (North) Estonian as well. He was the editor-in-chief of the high-rank literary and philosophical journal *Academia* btw. 1989-2001 which was and is an excellent periodicals in the official (North) Estonian language. This same Ain Kaalep founded –at the same time!- and chaired the South Estonian Literary Association and issued fictions and poems in South Estonian, among them his verses in South Estonian, too, and those of other authors, too. The South Estonian literary movement is still living. Therefore, the historical traditions make impacts on the cultural life, mentality and identification up to the recent times.

The model we are proposing to use for the more precise determination of the Baltic Areal, it is the borrowing the model of Areal linguistics. Since Arnold Toynbee drew a model of civilizations as living entities, more and more phenomena has gained their description within the framework of the notion of

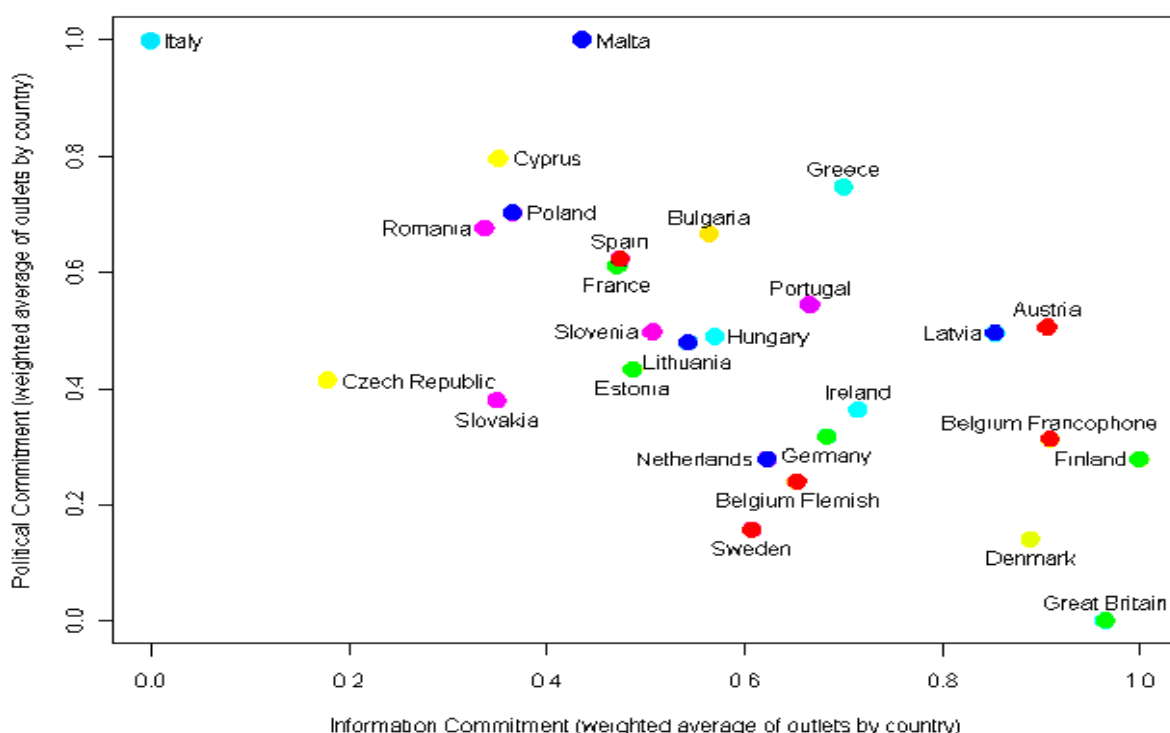
different «cultural spheres». It became an axial concept in social sciences. How can be defined a particular cultural sphere? – The Baltic Area as such, was borrowed from the linguistics when J. Gy. Décsi divided the wide Scando-Baltic language union (the concept had been worked out by R. Jakobson) into three narrow ones. A similar process can be seen in description of the Baltic cultures. Therefore, let's see Jakobson's model of a large Balto-Scandinavian language areal, or, by the termin borrowed from German, Sprachbund. He formulates it on the bases of some phonological isoglosses, that is, on common phenomena are reflected in different languages, are NOT relatives. For instance, such is the tonality and some other phenomena. If a linguist takes into consideration more and more phenomena, and draw more and more isoglosses, the language unit (Areal) may be more and more narrow but precise.

Definiton. According to the conception of the language area (Sprachbund, Language Union), elaborated by R. Jakobson, Gy. Décsy, V. Skalička and others), two or more non-relative languages constitute the same language area (language union), if and only if *the same content is to be expressed by similar ways* in the different –and genetically non-relative– languages. These formal ways of the similar expression are called isoglosses. As taking into consideration more and more isoglosses makes the language unit (Areal) may be more and more narrow but precise, the American linguist of Hungarian origin, Gyula Deácsy in Bloomington, drew more language areal in the Baltic countries, and divided JAKOBSONS's large Scando-Baltic areal into three different language areal (Sprachbund). Such a very significant Baltic isogloss is the Modus Obliquus or the Modus relativus. It means that the active participle can be grammaticalized, and became an independent verb mode. In Lithuanian the *traukinis išėjqs Ø penktq valandq* is literally «the departing at 5 o'clock train» but, as a verb mode, it means «the train departs at 5 o'clock (supposedly)» and this is the narrative verb mode — in the contrary to the present indicative mode as *traukinis išeina penktq valandq* «the train departs at 5 o'clock (factually)». The first means the action is not verified, we do not have any information if it really happens, therefore this is a

narrative verb mode: the narrator does not know, if it is really taking place what s/he telling about. This Modus obliquus is quite popular in the folk tales. And, this verb mode is very developed in Lithuanian, and exists in Latvian, too, also in the Finno-Ugric Estonian, but missing from other Finno-Ugric languages. Therefore, it is a very significant isogloss of the Baltic language areal.

Thus, in a similar way, we can draw cultural isoglosses, which we call «isoculturals». A cultural, mental, political phenomenon will be an «isocultural» if it links different peoples or countries. – Consequently, the cultural areas / unions may be drawn on similar way; thus, for instance in *political culture*, two or more different nations or social units constitute the same cultural union if and only if the conflict management is the similar, that is, the similar conflicts are to be solved by similar means and ways. Therefore, a Lithuanian liberal may be more similar in style and mentality to a Polish neighbor, even representing the middle, than to an Estonian politician, even representing the similar liberal platform. Isoglosses in political culture may link Lithuania more with Poland than with the Nordic neighbors, for instance.

Figure 3: Political and Information Commitment in media outlets across the European Union



Let's see a graphic from the field of the political sciences on the problem as the

commitment in the printed press and/or the media. This is only for an example, thus we do not investigate really the commitment in the Baltic states, but use this example for demonstrating what is the isocultural. The vertical axis shows the information commitment and the horizontal axis shows the political commitment. As we can see, different Baltic countries have quite different positions. This diagram is borrowed from the paper by the Rumanian scholar Marina Popescu and Hungarian Gabor Toka, with permission of Gábor Tóka, for I express him also here my gratitude.

Let's see the graphic. Estonia, Lithuania and Hungary are quite close to each other, while Latvia is quite far from them, and close to Austria. What does it mean? One can hear very often the commonplace that the Lithuanian mentality, way of life, or the cultural life is close to the Central European style, while the Estonian life is something Nordic, far from the Lithuanian. It is a complete nonsense and stupid preconception. *No geographical determination* can be evidenced by the relevant studies. As we can see on this diagram, the researchers in political sciences can show some phenomena, according to which phenomena the Lithuanian society is next to the Estonian, and the Latvian is the «neighbor» of the Austrian. On the other hand, we can find such phenomena which link the Latvian and Lithuanian close to each other, as well. Everything depends on the particular phenomena we currently investigate. Therefore, NO Baltic region in unequivocal sense, but there are «isocultural», that is, lines which links different Baltic peoples, but the link is depend on the particular phenomena is currently being investigate. Thus the Baltic region means that there are many common links, «isoculturals», which unite the Baltic countries, but, there are a lot of links which unite a particular Baltic country with another in Europe, but cut them from the other two Baltic countries.

The idea of the unified «Baltic Region» was evolved in the late 80-ies of the last century, when the political demands, the common interest for getting freedom and independence, united the three Baltic country to fight together for the reestablishing their independence. It was necessary and logical. The main

ideologist of the unified Baltic region was the Estonian Matti Hint, then-leader of the Estonian People Front. He took much for the independent Estonian country and culture, but in a bit narrow nationalist sense. His activity was very correct according to the circumstances in those times.

The President of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, later of the independent Estonian Republic was Arnold Rüütel, who was not as nationalist as Matti Hint, but he was a great patriot, too. He loved his fatherland as an agricultural engineer, and he played an important role in the political life of the independent Estonia, too. Though he was a socialist, leftist political thinker, he could love his nation, too, and he won the election in the independent Estonia, too, even ten years later after the reestablishing the independence. And, he did not believe the deep cultural and mental unity of Baltic lands, but in the common political interests (as he told when I made an interview with him in 1990th).

These days the political interests seems to be very common again, as the Baltic countries have fear from the great Bear in the neighbor. However, this is a particular political situation, and it does not means, the Baltic region could be regarded as a very close and unified unit. Further investigations in the field will be fruitful to define what “Baltic” is in cultural, behavioral and mental sense, if such.

ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ РАДИКАЛІЗМ І ЕКСТРЕМІЗМ У МОЛОДІЖНОМУ СЕРЕДОВИЩІ УКРАЇНИ: ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ РОЗВИТКУ ТА МЕХАНІЗМИ ПРОТИДІЇ

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На сучасному етапі суспільного розвитку серед загроз і викликів національній безпеці України вагоме місце посідають спорадичні прояви політичного радикалізму і екстремізму.